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New York

President:	Mr. Galouzeau De Villepin	(France)
Members:	Angola	Mr. Miranda
	Bulgaria	Mr. Passy
	Cameroon	Mr. Ngoubeyou
	Chile	Mr. Valdés
	China	Mr. Tang Jiaxuan
	Germany	Mr. Fischer
	Guinea	Mr. Fall
	Mexico	Mr. Derbez
	Pakistan	Mr. Kasuri
	Russian Federation	Mr. Ivanov
	Spain	Mrs. Palacio Vallelersundi
	Syrian Arab Republic	Mr. Wehbe
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Straw
	United States of America	Mr. Powell

Agenda

High-level meeting of the Security Council: combating terrorism

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03-21525 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

High-level meeting of the Security Council: combating terrorism

The President (*spoke in French*): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. Members of the Council have before them document S/2003/60, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

As international news unfortunately confirms, the terrorist threat, because of its multifaceted and global nature, cannot be eradicated unless the international community, together, continues to mobilize actively and in a lasting way against this scourge. The United Nations has a central role to play in order to ensure such mobilization. It is therefore fundamental that we give it our full support. That is why France, which holds the presidency of the Security Council during the month of January, has taken the initiative to convene this Council meeting at the ministerial level. I thank you, fellow members, for your participation.

Our objective must be to maintain and to strengthen the mobilization of all against terrorism. We must also give new impetus to the struggle against this scourge, and our debate today must contribute to that. It should give us an opportunity to reflect on new actions that might be necessary in order to attain that objective.

I should like to remind participants that, as agreed, we shall limit the length of our statements to a maximum of five to seven minutes.

I now give the floor to the Secretary-General, His Excellency Mr. Kofi Annan.

The Secretary-General (*spoke in French*): Today's meeting of the Security Council shows the steady determination of the international community to address the scourge of terrorism. Your presence here at the ministerial level is a sign of the importance that the world places on dealing effectively with this global threat.

Terrorism is a menace that requires a global response. Since the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001 on New York and Washington, the world has focused unprecedented attention on terrorism and on the means of countering it. The tragic loss of life in terrorist attacks such as those in Moscow, Bali and Mombasa is a dramatic reminder that success in countering this threat remains elusive. Despite enhanced attention and more concerted action, the problem of terrorism will require sustained, long-term action if it is to be addressed successfully.

(*spoke in English*)

The United Nations must play an increasing role in dissuading would-be perpetrators of terror by setting effective international norms and by issuing a clear message on the unacceptability of acts of violence targeting civilians.

The United Nations must also do whatever it can to deny terrorists the opportunity to commit their appalling crimes. The Security Council's Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) will continue to have a key role to play in this area, as will our common efforts to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

Greater efforts are needed to ensure universality, verification and full implementation of the key treaties relating to weapons of mass destruction, to tighten national export controls over the items needed to produce them, and to criminalize the acquisition or use of such weapons by non-State groups.

Because of its responsibility in ensuring the implementation of international anti-terrorism conventions and standards, the Security Council's Counter-Terrorism Committee will continue to be at the centre of global efforts to fight terrorism.

Finally, it will be necessary to sustain broad international cooperation by clearly articulating the work of various international, regional and subregional organizations in this effort. In that regard, I would like to welcome the CTC's initiative to hold a meeting with international, regional and subregional organizations in early March of this year. I trust that that meeting will constitute an important step towards the goal of sustained international cooperation in counter-terrorism. I am also proposing that counter-terrorism be a major agenda item at the meeting that I will convene with regional organizations later this year.

We face a grave and growing threat from international terrorism. Terrorism is a global scourge

with global effects; its methods are murder and mayhem, but its consequences affect every aspect of the work of the United Nations — from development to peace to human rights and the rule of law.

The United Nations has an indispensable role to play in providing the legal and organizational framework within which the international campaign against terrorism can unfold. But we must never lose sight of the fact that any sacrifice of freedom or the rule of law within States — or any generation of new tensions between States in the name of anti-terrorism — will hand the terrorists a victory that no act of theirs alone could possibly bring.

Even as many are rightly praising the unity and the resolve of the international community in this crucial struggle, important and urgent questions are being asked about what might be called the "collateral damage" of the war on terrorism: damage to the presumption of innocence, to precious human rights, to the rule of law and to the very fabric of democratic governance.

Domestically, the danger is that, in pursuit of security, we will end up sacrificing crucial liberties, thereby weakening our common security, not strengthening it, and thereby corroding the vessel of democratic government from within. Whether the question involves the treatment of minorities here in the West, or the rights of migrants and asylum seekers, or the presumption of innocence or the right to due process under the law, vigilance must be exercised by all thoughtful citizens to ensure that entire groups in our societies are not tarred with one broad brush and punished for the reprehensible behaviour of a few.

Internationally, we are also seeing an increasing use of what I call the "T word" — terrorism — to demonize political opponents, to throttle freedom of speech and the press and to delegitimize legitimate political grievances. We are seeing too many cases where States living in tension with their neighbours make opportunistic use of the fight against terrorism to threaten or justify new military action on long-running disputes.

Similarly, States fighting various forms of unrest or insurgency are finding it tempting to abandon the slow, difficult but sometimes necessary processes of political negotiation for the deceptively easy option of military action.

Just as terrorism must never be excused, so must genuine grievances never be ignored. True, it tarnishes a cause when a few wicked men commit murder in its name. But it does not make it any less urgent that the cause be addressed, the grievance heard and the wrong put right. Otherwise, we risk losing the contest for the hearts and minds of much of mankind.

We must act with determination to address — indeed, solve — the political disputes and long-standing conflicts that underlie, fuel and generate support for terrorism. To do so is not to reward terrorism or its perpetrators; it is to diminish their ability to find refuge or recruits in any cause or any country.

In its efforts to address the problem of terrorism, the United Nations and its Members must not lose sight of the broader international agenda. While there is an urgent and compelling need to prevent acts of terror, there is a no less compelling need to pursue the goals enshrined in the United Nations Charter. To the extent that the Organization succeeds in fighting poverty, injustice, suffering and war, it is also likely to help end the conditions that serve as justification for those who would commit acts of terror.

The President (*spoke in French*): I thank the Secretary-General for his statement.

In accordance with the agreement reached by the Council in its prior consultations, I now give the floor to Ambassador Sir Jeremy Greenstock, Chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Committee, to make a statement under rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

Sir Jeremy Greenstock: A number of Security Council delegations came to the view late last year that the Security Council's work on counter-terrorism needed to be stepped up a gear. For all the progress made by the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) in monitoring and encouraging the working implementation of resolution 1373 (2001) by Member States, achieving real improvements in practice on the ground everywhere is taking too long. The threat is real and immense. The urgency is irrefutable. As Chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Committee, I welcome this ministerial meeting to raise the pace.

So what has the CTC achieved against the objective of ensuring that all Governments have taken effective steps to ensure that there is no support, active or passive, for terrorism anywhere? In 15 months, the CTC has received over 280 reports from 178 Member

States. These show that the vast majority of Governments throughout the world have begun to respond to the challenge laid down in resolution 1373 (2001) to prevent and suppress terrorism. In almost every case, parliaments have begun to consider or to adopt new laws. Governments have reviewed the strength of their institutions to fight terrorism, and in some cases have already strengthened them. But there is still much more to do before terrorists find that the bar against terrorism has been raised everywhere. It is in recognition of this that I would like to set out for the Council today the views of the CTC on what more we can do to further global implementation of resolution 1373 (2001).

First, all States must begin to work towards this shared goal. Thirteen States have not yet submitted a report to the Committee. They are over a year late. Two States have not yet even picked up the telephone; they are Liberia and Timor-Leste — although that new Member of the United Nations should be allowed more time. We know that the others — Chad, Equatorial Guinea, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, the Marshall Islands, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Swaziland, Tuvalu and Vanuatu — are working on reports, three with outside assistance set up by the CTC. We know that others have real difficulties. But, whatever the underlying reasons, they are failing in their responsibilities as Members of the United Nations. The declaration to be adopted today sets a final date for submission of 31 March. The CTC will continue to be in contact with all these States, offering whatever help or advice they need to complete the reporting requirement. But after 31 March it must be clear that any non-reporting State will be held to be non-compliant with resolution 1373 (2001).

Secondly, States must understand what they need to do to improve their implementation of resolution 1373 (2001), and do it. The Committee, through its confidential letters to States, offers advice and guidance on how to fill the gaps in implementation of resolution 1373 (2001), focusing as a first priority on legislation and the issue of terrorist financing. Resolution 1373 (2001) is a complicated resolution, requiring significant effort by States to strengthen their laws and institutions to cope with the modern threats of terrorism. States must take prompt action, including having a process in hand for becoming party to the 12 relevant conventions and protocols. The CTC will bring to the attention of the Council any difficulties it encounters, as requested in the declaration that will be adopted today.

The CTC pays tribute to the large number of Member States that have worked hard to meet the requirements. We know that the task is not easy, and that many States will require help. The Committee stands ready to offer whatever guidance and advice it can directly, and encourages States to contact the Committee's experts on any matter arising from the Committee's letters. The experts are a source of tremendous knowledge, and I commend them for their huge contribution so far. States can also use the online directory of counter-terrorism information and sources of assistance, a tool for Governments to access information on best practices and potential assistance programmes. The experts will continue to facilitate the provision of assistance, being in touch with States about their assistance needs, and with potential providers on the current priorities, which at present are legislation and countering terrorist financing. But all States have the responsibility not only to improve their own counter-terrorism capacity, but also, where they can, to help others. Only by working together will we defeat the universal threat of terrorism. It is right that the declaration calls on States to assist each other. Not enough has yet been done actually to get projects up and running.

Achieving all this will be easier for individual States if they work within the collective effort of their region. Since its establishment the CTC has developed links with international, regional and subregional organizations that have, or intend to develop, counter-terrorism programmes. International organizations must work with States on standards in their own areas of competence. Regional organizations must develop an understanding of the international obligations of States in the area of counter-terrorism, and help their members to meet them. International and regional organizations have key roles to play. The CTC looks forward to discussing this with such organizations at the special meeting to be held on 7 March, and to setting action on hand.

So far the CTC has not initiated action on paragraph 4 of resolution 1373 (2001), which notes the potential links between terrorism and other forms of international organized crime. But what is happening out there, in areas of the world vulnerable to terrorism and international organized crime, is threatening. The structures that the Committee is helping to put in place

for counter-terrorism may have a wider value and effectiveness in strengthening the capacity of all Governments against international crime of all kinds. There may be advantages, too, for our work as a Council against the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. I would hope that ministers will demand accelerated action across the full range of these vital security issues.

Let me close by paying tribute to the work of Security Council members on the CTC, and to the Vice-Chairmen, the experts and the Secretariat throughout 2002. We begin the new year with five new members and a new Bureau. The Vice-Chairmen — Ambassadors Aguilar Zinser of Mexico, Gaspar Martins of Angola and Lavrov of the Russian Federation — and I look forward to directing the work of the CTC in the coming months. I am determined to make my last three months in the chairmanship count, and intend to pass on to Ambassador Arias of Spain a Committee with a continued sense of purpose, direction and momentum. The Security Council would expect nothing less; the world of law and order can afford nothing less. I hope that ministers will hold their delegations to account for the right results.

The President (*spoke in French*): I call on the Vice-Chancellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Germany, His Excellency Mr. Joschka Fischer.

Mr. Fischer (Germany): I would like to congratulate the French Council presidency on initiating today's meeting. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General and Ambassador Greenstock for their reports.

The issue we are dealing with today is a top international priority, since the Sword of Damocles of international terrorism is hanging over all of us. Terrorism kills innocent people and is a crime. It threatens peace and security; it threatens democracy, development and freedom, and it scorns national and international law and brutally attacks human rights. That is the message the horrific terrorist attack of 11 September 2001 sent to us all. What is more, the attacks in Djerba and Bali, and in Moscow and Mombasa, have made it clear to us that that threat remains unchanged.

No country is willing to live with that threat. We must therefore join forces to counter that brutal challenge with determination and prudence. The threat to our citizens has gained a new dimension. It is not possible to negotiate with terrorists such as Osama bin Laden and his network. They must be defeated. The terrorist network must be destroyed.

At the same time, however, we must use political, humanitarian and economic means to root out for good the possible causes that lead people to support terrorism.

I would like to briefly outline three fundamental considerations. First, international terrorism poses a strategic threat to peace and the international order. It is aimed at forcing us to react rashly and entangling us in a war among civilizations. That must not be our response. We must react in a way which weakens terrorism. There are no easy answers to this. The fight against international terrorism must take place at various levels. Intelligence, police, judicial and, in extreme cases, even military measures are indispensable. However, crisis prevention, conflict management, participation, poverty reduction, the promotion of education and a dialogue among civilizations are equally important. It is crucial to prevent acts of terrorism, but it is even better to prevent people from becoming terrorists.

Secondly, we can win this fight only through intensive international cooperation. Terrorism does not stop at borders. The impressive international coalition against terrorism that evolved following the attacks in New York and Washington must be preserved.

Allow me to comment here on the current situation. We are greatly concerned that a military strike against the regime in Baghdad would involve considerable and unpredictable risks for the global fight against terrorism. We have no illusions about the brutal nature of Saddam Hussein's regime. Therefore, we all demand that Baghdad implement the relevant United Nations resolutions in full and without exceptions. However, in addition to disastrous consequences for long-term regional stability, we also fear possible negative repercussions for the joint fight against terrorism. These are fundamental reasons for our rejection of military action. What we need is a system of global cooperative security. Asymmetrical conflicts in particular must be countered with an international system of sanctions and verification mechanisms. It is the United Nations that provides us with the appropriate global framework for that.

Thirdly, our fight must always be legitimized under international law. It must respect national and

international law, human rights and the United Nations Charter. Human rights in particular should not be suspended under the pretext of combating terrorism. After all, this fight is not only about defending our security, but also about our fundamental values — freedom, democracy and human rights.

The United Nations reacted quickly and resolutely to the events of 11 September 2001. Allow me to single out the Security Council's Counter-Terrorism Committee here. It has done impressive work, and its Chairman deserves our recognition. In that connection, my country is prepared to assist third States in developing suitable measures to combat terrorism and to coordinate that assistance with the Committee.

We also attach great importance to the General Assembly debates and draft convention on that issue. It would be desirable if the Assembly were to finally conclude its work on conventions on the comprehensive fight against terrorism and on nuclear terrorism.

Germany will continue to participate actively and constructively in all efforts to fight and prevent international terrorism. That is one of our most important foreign and security policy objectives. We are working towards that goal in very close cooperation with our international partners, particularly within the framework of the European Union.

In addition to prosecuting terrorists, we are also particularly keen on tackling terrorism at its roots. That includes devising potential solutions to simmering regional conflicts, as in the examples of Afghanistan and the Middle East. It also includes the stabilization and the development of countries stricken by crisis through useful assistance and cooperation.

Furthermore, we continue to pay particular attention to the risk of terrorists gaining access to weapons of mass destruction. However, that means that international instruments of arms control, disarmament and nonproliferation must not, under any circumstances, be weakened. Indeed, quite the reverse should be the case: they must be strengthened. In that connection, we have launched various initiatives within the frameworks of the European Union and the Group of 8. We also attach particular importance to dialogue with other civilizations, particularly the Islamic world, in that context.

Let me say once more that we cannot achieve these goals without the international coalition against terrorism. We must preserve and cultivate it, and it would be best if we did so within the framework of the United Nations. The momentum created by today's meeting must be used. During the German presidency of the Council, we plan to take up this issue once more in an open debate on 20 February.

The President (*spoke in French*): I call on His Excellency Mr. François-Xavier Ngoubeyou, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cameroon.

Mr. Ngoubeyou (*spoke in French*): Humanity, awakened after the tragic events of 11 September 2001, understands more clearly the cataclysm to which blind hatred, gratuitous violence and intolerance could lead the world.

On 11 September 2002, the Council held a solemn meeting, presided over by the President of the Republic of Bulgaria, at which we paid, together and with the emotion proper to the occasion, tribute to the memory of the victims of the heinous terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001. I wish once again to express to the bereaved families the full solidarity of the people of Cameroon.

Our decision to meet today at the ministerial level is clear evidence of our refusal to accept the situation and our resolve to tackle and to eliminate the tentacles of terrorism.

I wish to thank and congratulate the French presidency for this very wise initiative. This meeting should enable us to develop the political momentum needed for the world coalition and to reaffirm the crucial role the United Nations must play in providing the legal and institutional framework in which the campaign against terrorist must be articulated. I would like to welcome the presence of Secretary-General Kofi Annan and thank him for his excellent statement, his pointed and profound remarks and pertinent analysis and suggestions in the area of combating terrorism.

The United Nations was created to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war in its various forms — and terrorism is one of them. There can be no excuse or justification for terrorism. Of course, much injustice exists. Real frustrations become ingrained and trouble our consciences. Poverty, hunger and insecurity grip us and slowly stifle and kill us. All

the inequalities that ensue from this must be addressed thoroughly and immediately. The family of the United Nations is endeavouring to do so, and we welcome its efforts.

Nothing can excuse the heinous thrust of terrorism. Terrorism, in whatever form, is unacceptable and must be firmly condemned. It inflicts untold suffering on humanity and seriously infringes on the dignity of the individual human being, which is the very foundation of the civilized world.

This is why Cameroon, through its President, His Excellency Mr. Paul Biya, so strongly condemned the events of 11 September and is resolved to give its total support to the international coalition. A steadfast and determined fighter against terrorism, the head of State of Cameroon addressed the nation and the diplomatic corps at the New Year celebrations on a single issue: the campaign against terrorism. One year ago, condemning terrorism, President Biya said:

> "We have an imperative duty to combat international terrorism in all its forms. The fear, hatred and intolerance that it fosters are both a major concern and a serious threat to international peace and security."

On 3 January 2003, before the diplomatic corps, President Biya strongly reaffirmed:

> "There is especially a need to attack evil at its roots. Faced with fanaticism that knows no logic or morality, there is no other remedy than repression. On the other hand, we know that poverty and injustice are often breeding grounds for terrorism. Both afflict the majority of the world's people."

My country is party to the vast majority of the existing international conventions to combat terrorism, and it fully adheres to the contractual measures taken by the United Nations, including the relevant Security Council resolutions, particularly 1373 (2001). Cameroon also confirms its adherence to and renews its full support for United Nations action through the Monitoring Group of the Sanctions Committee established under Security Council resolution 1267 (1999).

The report submitted by my country to the Counter-Terrorism Committee confirms that Cameroon has a general legal framework conducive to the effective implementation of resolution 1373 (2001). Measures have been taken at all levels of State to guarantee the application of this historic resolution. The Cameroon criminal code punishes both violations concerning terrorism and acts directed against the security of civil aviation. An anti-terrorist strategy has been elaborated. It is now being implemented and coordinated by a focal point at the presidential level designated by the head of State.

The frequency, scope and magnitude of terrorist acts convince us of just how important and necessary it is to develop unswerving preventive and punitive policies to meet this scourge. Cameroon is firmly committed to this end.

Our common security can be best guaranteed only if we struggle against terrorism together. Therefore, coherent, concerted and coordinated international action is essential. The United Nations, thanks to its universal nature, is the optimal framework for such a crusade.

Cameroon welcomes here the largely positive results of the work of the Counter-Terrorism Committee established pursuant to Security Council resolution 1373 (2001). I would like to pay a well-deserved tribute to its chairman, Sir Jeremy Greenstock, and all the members of the bureau. I have no doubt that Spain, which will soon assume the Committee chair, will continue the work with the same efficiency and determination.

The recent attacks in Moscow, Mombasa and Bali can only keep us vigilant. They have just reminded us that to be effective our efforts should be pursued consistently and tirelessly. This is why Cameroon continues to support the idea of holding a high-level conference under the auspices of the United Nations to determine the common response of the international community to terrorism in all its forms and in all its manifestations. In this campaign, cooperation among States must play a fundamental role. Here, Cameroon believes that technical assistance is an area in which there is a need for greater emphasis and greater means. Specifically, Cameroon believes that international, regional and subregional organizations with proven expertise can play a crucial role in strengthening national capacities to combat terrorism.

Terrorists of all stripes take full advantage of the disparities in logistic and technological resources that separate our respective States to escape being tracked down. They also exploit the gaps in existing national

and international legislation. This is why it is vitally important to strengthen legal norms against terrorism by completing the urgent work on a comprehensive convention on terrorism and a convention on the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism. This is all the more necessary given that the current legal provisions remain sectoral. The risk of one day seeing terrorists using weapons of mass destruction haunts us daily. The United Nations must promote the global ratification and application of the 12 international conventions to combat terrorism.

I would like to reiterate that our campaign against terrorism must be comprehensive. If we are to succeed we must calm the international context and, as I have already said, remove injustices that fuel intolerance. The attacks of 11 September, in striking more than 90 nations, have not only crystallized horror and fear but have also strengthened solidarity between nations. Henceforth, the campaign against terrorism should brook no complicity on the part of any State.

At the historic Millennium Summit, we all made commitments to free humanity from fear — from all kinds of fear. Let us stay the course and remain united and determined in this lofty and legitimate struggle. As the Nobel laureate Elie Wiesel rightly said,

> "We are all in a train that could head towards a precipice. No one can get off, but all can contribute to stopping it."

The President (*spoke in French*): I now give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Jack Straw, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Mr. Straw (United Kingdom): I greatly welcome the initiative of the French presidency in calling this ministerial meeting. I would like to thank His Excellency the Secretary-General for his address and to express my personal thanks to Sir Jeremy Greenstock for all his work while chairing the Counter-Terrorism Committee. I would also like to thank members of the Council for the continuing, if I may say so, the very well placed confidence which they have shown in him throughout his period of office.

The cold war was dangerous and at times frightening, but it had some certainties and ground rules. Today's terrorists, however, respect no rules and no one's life — not others' lives, not even their own. They respect no values and no religion. They are criminals cloaked in a cause — psychopathic killers who define themselves by the terror which they inflict on others.

Some call this international terrorism. That does not make it distant from our own lives, but immediate in each of our nations, down our street or the next. At least 13 of the 15 countries represented here in the Security Council have seen the killing of their innocent citizens by terrorists. In the United Kingdom, we have just lost a brave police officer, killed in the course of a terrorist-related arrest — three children now without a dad, a devoted wife with no husband.

We have to unite as never before in the face of this threat and act, I suggest, in five key ways.

First, we must ensure that the duties imposed by the United Nations counter-terrorism law - Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) — are vigorously enforced in every Member State. We have to expose the laggards and confront every danger effectively. As Sir Jeremy Greenstock has just laid out, the momentum from the Counter-Terrorism Committee has to be sustained.

As a former Interior Minister, allow me to say this. The key challenge is not to set up new institutions or figureheads, but to ensure that existing law-enforcement arrangements work better.

Secondly, we have to expose the connection between the terrorists who respect no rules and the States which respect no rules either. It is the leaders of rogue States who set the example, brutalize their people, celebrate violence, provide a haven for terrorists to operate, and — worse than that — through their chemical, biological and nuclear weapons, provide a tempting arsenal for terrorists to use.

The world must be in no doubt: if terrorists can, they will. If they can get their hands on nerve gases, killer viruses or nuclear bombs, they will use them.

Thirdly, action to stop rogue States' proliferation is as urgent as action to stop terrorism. Wherever we can, we should use diplomatic means to get proliferators to comply, as we are with North Korea, patiently. But there has to come a moment when our patience must run out, and we are now near that point with Iraq.

Well before Security Council resolution 1441 (2002) was adopted, on 8 November last year, Saddam

Hussein was already in breach, not of one or two, but of 23 mandatory obligations in nine separate Security Council resolutions stretching back over 12 years. The moment of choice for Saddam Hussain is close. He must either resolve this crisis peacefully, by active compliance with his Security Council obligations and full cooperation with inspectors, or face the serious consequences — the use of force — which the Council warned would follow when it adopted resolution 1441 (2002).

Fourthly, we have absolutely and emphatically to reject the lie that the action of the international community in fighting terrorism and rogue States is anti-Muslim. It is not. It is pro-Muslim, as well as pro-Christian, pro-Buddhist, pro-Jew, pro-Hindu, pro-Sikh — pro-humanity.

Down the ages, tyrants and terrorists alike have sought justification for their ends by claiming that they have God on their side. Today is no different. Let us remember this: Al Qaeda and the Taliban murdered thousands of Muslims in Afghanistan well before 11 September.

Let us also remember that almost every one of the hundreds of thousands of people killed by Saddam Hussain have been Muslim, and that, in contrast, in the four international conflicts of the past 12 years — the Gulf, Bosnia, Kosovo and Afghanistan — it happens to have been innocent Muslims who have been saved by international military action.

Fifthly, we must, of course, work relentlessly to eliminate the environment in which terrorism breeds. This can be done by firm security action and a political agenda. In Northern Ireland and in Sri Lanka, we see the hope which can be built after decades of killing and hatred.

We must not give up in other theatres, least of all in the Israel-Palestine conflict. Only the terrorists will rejoice if grief at the endless killings gives way to total despair. There, a two-State solution is the only just response, as the Council has determined. Such an outcome would be a vindication of the founding ideal of the United Nations that reconciliation is possible between all nations and all faiths.

People of my generation will recognize that at times, over the past 50 years, the ideals of the United Nations have seemed sometimes beyond reach. The vile hostility of the cold war stood in stark contrast to the noble principles of the United Nations Charter. Yet the ideal of the United Nations survives. It prevailed through the era of super-Power confrontation, and, with our collective effort, it will prevail over the twin threats of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction which haunt the world today.

The President (*spoke in French*): I give the floor to His Excellency Mr. Solomon Passy, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria.

Mr. Passy (Bulgaria): Allow me first to express my gratitude to the French delegation and to Minister De Villepin for organizing this meeting, which gives us an opportunity to take stock of what has been achieved and to consider new measures and initiatives. I wish also to thank Secretary-General Kofi Annan and the President of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) for their important statements.

I wish to avail myself of this occasion to welcome the five new non-permanent members of the Security Council and to wish them success in carrying out their responsibilities. I am confident that the tradition of unanimous decisions on matters related to the fight against international terrorism will be maintained.

Fifteen months after the adoption of resolution 1373 (2001), we can affirm that a great deal has been done. However, the multifaceted measures undertaken so far do not give us grounds to conclude that terrorism, as a major threat to international peace and security, has been eliminated. We condemn in the strongest terms the recent terrorist acts, as well as terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, as no circumstances or motives can ever justify them. Worldwide, in the past three months alone, three Bulgarians have been killed by terrorists.

International cooperation is of key importance for results in the fight against terrorism. Other international regional and subregional organizations, with the appropriate expertise and mechanisms, can play an important role as well. In this regard, I would like to welcome the initiative of the Counter-Terrorism Committee to hold a special meeting on 7 March with representatives of international and regional organizations. As a member of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) troika and, consequently, as its future Chairman-in-Office in 2004, Bulgaria will actively contribute to the synergy between the different bodies.

Looking at the balance of what has been achieved, we cannot but underscore the great input of the CTC in strengthening the overall capacity of the States Members of the United Nations to fight this evil. I would like to express my high esteem for the activities of the Committee and of its Chairman, Sir Jeremy Greenstock. I wish Spain success also as the next Chairman of this most important subsidiary organ of the Security Council.

We consider that the CTC has successfully managed its initial task of focusing attention on the need for legislation covering all aspects of resolution 1373 (2001) and for ratification of the 12 international instruments related to the fight against terrorism. In supporting the priorities set out in the various phases of CTC activities, Bulgaria is of the opinion that, even now, the Committee can direct greater attention to the close links that exist between international terrorism and international organized crime, drug trafficking, money-laundering and the illegal trade in weapons.

A matter of growing concern is the risk of access by terrorists to weapons of mass destruction and materials for their production. In this regard, I would like to express Bulgaria's support for "Principles to prevent terrorists, or those that harbour them, from gaining access to weapons or materials of mass destruction", adopted by the Group of Eight in June 2002 in Kananaskis, Canada and endorsed by the General Assembly.

Bulgaria recognizes that the 12 United Nations conventions and protocols constitute the primary legal framework for the fight against terrorism. The last two of them to which Bulgaria was not yet a party have now been ratified. I avail myself of this occasion to appeal to all States that have not yet ratified those conventions to do so as soon as possible. As well, I would like to stress that the legal framework that those instruments outline will be incomplete until the negotiations on a comprehensive convention against terrorism and on an international convention on the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism are concluded.

The coordination and the harmonization of the fight against terrorism at international level must be coupled with adequate efforts at the national level.

In order to improve and broaden cooperation at subregional level, Bulgaria hosted in 2002 a regional political forum of the South-East European States, dedicated to international cooperation in the fight against terrorism. That initiative was consistent with the view that achievements can be improved when States work within the collective efforts of the region and was meant to boost cooperation with NATO, the European Union, the Council of Europe, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe and the Central European Initiative.

Bulgaria has, on many occasions and at different political levels, declared that terrorism cannot be identified with an ethnic or religious group. We must not allow the terrorists to use cultural and religious differences to breed feelings of mistrust and hatred among nations and in that way to justify their terrible acts of violence.

Counter-terrorism measures need to be constantly improved because terrorists have demonstrated an extraordinary ability to take advantage of the weaknesses and omissions of international cooperation. I am confident that today's open meeting of the Security Council will give new impetus to strengthening the capabilities of States in their fight against one of the most dangerous phenomena of the present world.

The President (*spoke in French*): I give the floor to the Minister of External Relations of Angola, His Excellency Mr. João Bernardo de Miranda.

Mr. Miranda (Angola) (*spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation*): Allow me first to welcome France's initiative to convene this high-level meeting of the Security Council to assess the international community's efforts in the struggle against terrorism.

They have been very strenuous efforts. The adoption of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) demonstrates the international community's determination to continue to work towards this common objective: the fight against this scourge, which does not respect borders and which represents a serious threat to world peace in the twenty-first century.

In our view, the results of the international community's fight against terrorism have been positive, thanks to the Security Council's leadership role and to the prompt response of States, which took measures to implement resolution 1373 (2001). We should underscore the large number of States that sent national

reports to the Counter-Terrorism Committee and which took practical measures to prevent and to fight terrorist networks.

But success in the fight against terrorism requires not only the adoption of domestic policies by States; it must also and above all include regional and international cooperation.

The African continent was a pioneer in the adoption of measures against terrorist activities, which ravaged many of our countries on countless occasions. In 1999, the Organization of African Unity adopted a Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism.

Angola, a country which directly suffered terrorism for so many years, is seriously engaged in the struggle against that phenomenon, regardless of who is behind it or where it occurs. As President José Eduardo dos Santos stated, Angola condemns all forms of political, religious and ethnic acts of radicalism and all terrorist activities.

Preventing terrorism is a priority challenge for my Government, particularly in this period of the consolidation of peace and democracy in Angola. Of course, an effective defence against terrorism requires, first and foremost, a strong State that is politically stable and able to fulfil its responsibilities as a member of the international community.

Those have been the goals of the Angolan State, as it spends a significant portion of its resources not only to develop its capacity for the protection and control of its air, land and maritime space — an essential requirement to avoid the infiltration of terrorist groups — but also to meet the fundamental needs of the Angolan people, such as their well-being, security and justice, thus strengthening the Angolan social fabric and preventing the very roots of some forms of terrorism.

Of course, at this stage, Angola is endeavouring to provide relief from the suffering caused by 30 years of war. That includes the resettlement of 3 million displaced persons and more than 400,000 refugees, the reintegration of thousands of former combatants and the reconstruction of infrastructure. As a result, my Government is not yet capable of contributing its full share in the struggle against all forms of terrorism without the assistance of the international community. In that regard, very soon, Angola will be welcoming a technical assistance mission from the United Nations Centre for International Crime Prevention.

In Southern Africa, Angola was an early promoter of a meeting of our regional integration organization, the Southern Africa Development Community, to coordinate a prevention and combat strategy against terrorist activities in our region. That strategy relates to the very nature of terrorism in the region and its impact on States. It also includes measures to impede movements of the people and funds of terrorist networks; to prevent potential attacks such as those that occurred recently in Nairobi, Dar Es Salaam and Mombasa; and to increase information exchange and training for immigration, customs, police and civil aviation personnel, among others.

Nevertheless, the implementation of some of those measures requires international assistance, including the provision of equipment, the training of specialists and financial support.

At the same time, we stress the urgent need for an international convention on terrorism providing a universally acceptable definition of that scourge.

Beyond the mere adoption of measures to prevent, combat and disassemble terrorist networks, great attention must given to the objectives and motivations of those groups. We believe that it is not very helpful to attribute terrorist acts simply to a wish to kill and destroy. We must also focus on identifying the true purposes of terrorism and thereby make our methods to combat it more effective.

(*spoke in French*)

In conclusion, I should like to welcome the efforts made by the Counter-Terrorism Committee, whose report was introduced earlier by its Chairman, the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom. I also wish very warmly to welcome the statement made by the Secretary-General, who has given us a comprehensive and realistic picture of the efforts that need to be made by the entire international community to make the fight against terrorism a worldwide reality.

The President (*spoke in French*): I now call on His Excellency Mr. Khurshid M. Kasuri, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Pakistan.

Mr. Kasuri (Pakistan): It is a pleasure for me to participate in this important meeting of the Security Council under the presidency of France. We warmly

welcome the initiative of the French Government and Foreign Minister De Villepin to convene this special ministerial meeting. We believe that it is timely and essential for the Security Council to consider the issue of terrorism from a wider perspective in its various manifestations and its multifarious origins and causes.

We welcome the important statements made today by Secretary-General Kofi Annan and by Sir Jeremy Greenstock, Chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Committee. Pakistan has a strong interest in the subject, as it has itself been a victim of terrorism for a very long time.

The tragic events of 11 September 2001 mobilized the international community to launch a comprehensive campaign against terrorism. The Security Council has made a significant contribution to this campaign. An international coalition has waged a successful war against the Al Qaeda terrorist organization in Afghanistan and elsewhere. Of course, this process of seeking out, arresting and eliminating the Al Qaeda elements wherever they may be will be a long and painstaking one. Let me assure the Council here that the Government of Pakistan will leave no stone unturned to achieve that objective.

Pakistan is and will remain a key member of the global coalition against international terrorism. As President Musharraf said last year,

> "the strategic decisions we took after 11 September are consistent with our moral principles and national interests. Our unstinting support has been critical in the battle against terrorism. This support will continue until our shared objectives are fully met and the evil of terrorism is completely eliminated."

Pakistan's actions speak louder than our words. Despite the constant threat on our eastern frontier, 70,000 Pakistani troops continue to conduct extensive operations on our western border with Afghanistan to interdict Al Qaeda infiltration. Our law enforcement agencies are engaged in an extensive operation to hunt down Al Qaeda and other terrorists who may have infiltrated into Pakistan. Pakistan has arrested and deported over 420 suspected members of Al Qaeda, including some of its top leaders, such as Abu Zubaydah and Ramzi bin al-Shibh. Several members of our security forces have made the ultimate sacrifice in this operation. Pakistan has also been the target of Al Qaeda's retaliation and revenge attacks, in which scores of innocent Pakistanis and some foreigners, including 11 French nationals, have lost their lives. But, despite these attacks, Pakistan has remained resolute. We have achieved considerable success in this anti-terrorism campaign, which will be pursued until the terrorists have been eliminated.

In accordance with Security Council resolutions, Pakistan has devised a legal and practical mechanism to effectively halt financial and other support to terrorist organizations and groups. Several sectarian and extremist groups have been banned and their assets frozen. We have signed or ratified 11 out of the 12 United Nations anti-terrorism conventions. We have also signed the Organization of the Islamic Conference Convention on Combating Terrorism.

The horrendous attacks of 11 September have highlighted the vulnerability of the modern, technologically advanced societies, as well as of those that are backward. We share the fear that terrorists may acquire sophisticated technology and weapons of great destructive power. Let me reaffirm that Pakistan's nuclear assets are under strict safeguards and credible custodial controls. With a vigorous security and monitoring system, there has never been any danger of leakage of nuclear or sensitive technologies in Pakistan, yet we must also acknowledge that the instruments of terror can be multifarious. The focus of the anti-terror campaign must therefore remain on eliminating the terrorist organizations and groups and in halting support for them.

Greater effort is necessary to identify those acts of terrorism which are the consequence of incorrigible fanaticism or criminal intent, and others which arise from a sense of political or economic injustice. In the latter case, attempts to address underlying causes could be the most effective approach to arresting terrorist actions.

At this juncture, however, I would like to point out that some States have unfortunately sought to misuse the campaign against terror to denigrate and suppress the right of peoples to self-determination, such as those in occupied Jammu and Kashmir and in Palestine. Pakistan wishes to reaffirm emphatically that the aspiration of the people of Jammu and Kashmir to self-determination is sanctioned by the resolutions of the Security Council. Their struggle against Indian occupation is a just, legitimate and noble struggle. Equating such a freedom struggle with terrorism is

unjust. The Kashmir dispute can and should be resolved through dialogue between Pakistan and India in accordance with the Security Council's resolutions and the wishes of the Kashmiri people.

The international community cannot ignore the phenomenon of State terrorism as a tool of foreign occupation and defiance of United Nations resolutions. Terrorism has no creed, culture or religion. Pakistan resolutely rejects attempts to identify our noble religion, Islam, with terrorism. Such attempts must be collectively opposed by the international community lest they sow the seeds of endemic confrontation between cultures and civilizations. There should be no double standards in combating terrorism. We are surprised that acts of terrorism committed by other religious fanatics in non-Muslim societies have not been condemned as vigorously. I refer to the recent killings of Muslims in the State of Gujarat, India, in particular.

As President Musharraf has stated:

> "Hate should have no market. It must be stamped out with the same zeal with which the fight against terrorism is being pursued."

We shall do this vigorously in Pakistan. We seek to build Pakistan, as envisioned by our founding father, the great leader Mohammad Ali Jinnah, as a tolerant, modern and democratic Islamic State. While collectively opposing terrorism, the international community must also endeavour collectively to promote greater cultural and religious harmony all over the world. To this end, Pakistan has proposed the adoption by the General Assembly of a declaration on religious and cultural understanding, harmony and cooperation.

In conclusion, let me state that Pakistan believes that this ministerial meeting is the beginning of a serious dialogue within the Security Council on ways and means to combat terrorism collectively, comprehensively, effectively and — I also hope — equitably. Success in this historic endeavour will strengthen international peace and security and put to rest the prophecies of those who project a coming clash of civilizations.

The President (*spoke in French*): I now call on His Excellency Mr. Luis Ernesto Derbez, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mexico.

Mr. Derbez (Mexico) (*spoke in Spanish*): At the outset, allow me sincerely to congratulate the delegation of France for the pertinent way in which it has conducted the work of the Security Council and to express my deep appreciation for having you, Sir, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, preside over the Security Council at this important meeting.

My country extends a greeting to Secretary-General Kofi Annan. Under his leadership, the United Nations is fulfilling with vision and wisdom its commitment to keeping the peace. This meeting has a special meaning, for here we renew our purpose to go further in our multilateral effort to fight terrorism. I should also like to congratulate Sir Jeremy Greenstock, Chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Committee, on his tireless efforts over the past months. In addition, I welcome the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Permanent Representatives of the States members of the Security Council.

The tragic events that occurred on the territory of the United States on 11 September 2001 revealed the immense destructive capacity of international terrorism and drew our attention to the grave threat that such acts pose to world peace and security. The Security Council's decisive and immediate action and the creation of a Committee charged with monitoring measures adopted by States in implementation of resolution 1373 (2001) are innovative initiatives to fight terrorism.

The impetus that the entire community of nations is giving to such efforts will enable us to strengthen the legal framework necessary for confronting this grave evil. In parallel, it provides an incentive for international cooperation to tighten the noose around those who use terrorism to destabilize and to spread uncertainty in our world.

However, the challenge posed by this threat is enormous and especially complex. That has been demonstrated by the grave terrorist attacks perpetrated recently in places such as Indonesia, the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kenya. I take this opportunity to reaffirm Mexico's solidarity with the Governments and the peoples that have been victims of terrorism as well as Mexico's confidence in good policy and good diplomacy to eradicate this pernicious phenomenon.

Today, the urgency of strengthening the international community's efforts to combat and

eradicate this scourge — and to prevent this phenomenon from jeopardizing peaceful coexistence among nations — is more evident than ever before. Mexico condemns all acts or manifestations of terrorism and rejects any argument that seeks to justify it.

The international community faces a unique challenge in such threats. In order to act successfully, it must proceed from three principles: first, the establishment of an international order based on universally recognized rules and norms — in other words, the building of a framework of certainty that responds to the wishes and needs of the international community; secondly, the continuous strengthening of international cooperation for the resolution of global problems; and finally, the primary role of the United Nations as the forum that the community of nations has established to channel its action in facing global challenges.

The fight against terrorism must fully respect the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and of international law, including the protection of human rights. That is why Mexico especially welcomes the initiative to convene this ministerial meeting. Today's gathering attests to the importance we attach to acting effectively and with justice in the fight against terrorism. It should provide an opportunity not only to reaffirm existing commitments but also to reflect with imagination, creativity and a lofty sense of responsibility on the actions that we must undertake in the future.

As a member of the Counter-Terrorism Committee, Mexico has devoted special attention to proposing formulas that would ensure full compliance by all States with the international obligations required by the fight against terrorism. Mexico wishes to emphasize that conflict prevention and the peaceful settlement of disputes are essential premises in our effort to eradicate terrorism. The international community has the responsibility to foresee and create the necessary space for negotiation in order to avoid conflict situations, which are fertile ground for the growth and proliferation of terrorism.

For that reason, we recognize that the forthcoming meeting, on 7 March, between the Security Council Committee and various international and regional organizations will be an important step towards improving specific strategies and cooperation agreements. That effort will have special significance for strengthening cooperation between the Counter-Terrorism Committee and regional and subregional organizations with responsibility in this area, within the framework of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations.

In various international forums, Mexico has participated in and supported initiatives to prevent and combat terrorism. As of January this year, it has assumed one of the vice-chairmanships of the Counter-Terrorism Committee. In the International Atomic Energy Agency, we have actively promoted an early conclusion of the protocol to the Vienna Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material as an effective mechanism to prevent nuclear materials or facilities from being used for terrorist ends.

In the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Mexico has supported the adoption of recommendations to combat the financing of terrorism, which complement the work of the Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering against money laundering. Currently, Mexico is working to implement those recommendations.

At the same time, Mexico has been taking measures to strengthen its internal legal framework for combating terrorism. That is an ongoing and inescapable task, and both the executive branch and the Mexican Congress are working on initiatives to strengthen our laws for combating terrorism. Recently, the Senate of the Republic approved the ratification of the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism and Mexico's accession to the International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings. I am pleased to announce that, shortly, I shall have the privilege of depositing the relevant instruments on those two Conventions with the Legal Counsel of the United Nations, in fulfilment of Mexico's responsibilities with regard to the fight against terrorism.

We are convinced that the effective fulfilment of international obligations in good faith and the strengthening of global efforts to resolve conflicts are the best way to ensure the eradication of terrorism. Through our work in this and other meetings, we shall help to ensure that the Security Council and the Counter-Terrorism Committee can cooperate with all States in such tasks and ensure their success. The fight

against terrorism is a battle that mankind cannot afford to lose.

The President (*spoke in French*): I call next on His Excellency Mr. Igor S. Ivanov, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation.

Mr. Ivanov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): Today, the Security Council is discussing an issue of paramount importance: how to further intensify and increase the effectiveness of cooperation in combating terrorism. This initiative by France is a very timely development, and we welcome it. The new wave of terrorist acts that shook the world late last year reaffirmed with alarming clarity that the world community continues to face a strong and ruthless enemy. Today, that enemy poses the major threat to international security and to the foundations of the modern world order. That is precisely why the Council must further intensify its active involvement in addressing the urgent problem of fighting terrorism.

The multidimensional strategy to combat international terrorism, developed under United Nations auspices and defined in Security Council resolutions, has already proved its effectiveness. That took place when an extremely dangerous hotbed of terrorism in Afghanistan was virtually eliminated through a joint effort. That development should be further strengthened. A successful outcome will depend largely on preserving the unity of a broad anti-terrorist coalition, which must continue to be based on the solid foundation of the Charter of the United Nations and on international law. We must be careful not to take unilateral steps that might threaten the unity of the anti-terrorist coalition.

In that context, we favour a political settlement of the situation concerning Iraq, in strict conformity with relevant Security Council resolutions, including resolution 1441 (2002), which the Council adopted unanimously.

We must all realize that we are only at the beginning of the difficult road of combating terrorism. Terrorism is far from being crushed; indeed, it has considerable financial and human potential and is preparing to deliver new blows in various parts of the world.

It is also alarming that terrorists are seeking to acquire weapons of mass destruction. We cannot allow such a catastrophe to take place. The non-proliferation regimes for such weapons should be further strengthened.

The recent brazen terrorist acts in Russia, Indonesia and Kenya — and the almost daily occurrence of such acts in the Middle East — are clear evidence of the need for a comprehensive approach to combating terrorism at the national, regional and global levels.

The insidious sophistication of terrorists must be countered by united, thoroughly considered and decisive action by the international community. A common understanding must prevail, including at the level of the Security Council, that there can be absolutely no justification for terrorist acts. We ourselves should act accordingly. Criminals must face punishment for what they have done.

But equally decisive measures must also be taken against the accomplices of terrorists. Those who give refuge to criminal gangs, finance them or in any way assist them are themselves criminals. This basic logic of criminal law has become an international imperative with the adoption of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001). This matter could be actively pursued by the Counter-Terrorism Committee, which since its establishment has earned an excellent reputation due to its dynamic, unbiased and transparent work. It is important that the Committee not only assist Member States in improving their anti-terrorist laws; it should also examine how those laws are being applied in accordance with today's requirements.

There are good prospects for cooperation between the Committee and international and regional organizations. Russia will continue to actively contribute to the activities of the Committee in that area, including through promoting working contacts between the Committee and the anti-terrorist mechanisms of the Commonwealth of Independent States and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization.

In broader terms, the international anti-terrorist legal framework must be further strengthened, first of all by making existing anti-terrorist conventions universal. Russia is a strong advocate of expeditious action to that end. On 27 December 2002, the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism came into force in our country. Work is currently under way in Russia to ratify the Convention on the Marking of Plastic Explosives for the Purpose of Detection.

At the same time, we are greatly disappointed about the slowdown in the work on the draft comprehensive convention on international terrorism and the draft international convention for the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism. The inability to overcome political and ideological differences runs counter to the interests of the entire international community and raises doubts about our ability to act effectively and responsibly in complex situations. The time has now come to rise above differences, for the sake of our common goals of eliminating the terrorist threat and finalizing the work on those important documents as soon as possible.

It is perfectly clear that terrorism is a gross violation of human rights and freedoms, including the fundamental right to life. That is why we have on our agenda the task of establishing the human right to protection from terrorism. We believe that we must implement as soon as possible the well-known Russian initiative to develop, under the auspices of the United Nations, a code to protect human rights against terrorism.

It is also very clear that the complete eradication of terrorism will be possible only if the fertile ground for it is removed. In particular, that ground includes regional conflicts, organized crime, drug trafficking, the illegal arms trade and uneven socio-economic development.

The General Assembly unanimously adopted the Russian draft resolution entitled "Responding to global threats and challenges" (General Assembly resolution 57/145). We believe that this indicates that the world community has come to understand the leading role of the United Nations in establishing a comprehensive approach to neutralizing terrorist and other dangerous threats to international security. We should now start to work together to build a global system to counter new challenges and threats.

For Russia, strengthening international solidarity in the fight against terrorism is not mere verbal tribute to political rhetoric. Our President, Mr. Putin, has said that our country is living in a virtual state of war declared by international terrorism. Last year's large-scale terrorist acts in Kaspiysk, Moscow and Grozny, and the traces of Chechen terrorism in a number of European and Muslim countries, leave no doubt that Chechen terrorism is an integral part of the world terrorist infrastructure, which includes Al Qaeda. We have considerable irrefutable evidence to that effect.

Russia greatly appreciated the international community's solidarity with our country in the aftermath of the Chechen terrorist attacks. However, it is important not to confine ourselves to solidarity alone. We must learn the main lesson that all those engaged in terrorist activities must be duly punished, wherever they may be. It is the duty of every State not to let them escape justice. There can be no double standards in that regard; otherwise victory will belong not to us, but to terrorists and their accomplices.

There is much to be done to root out the evil of terrorism, but we can do so if we work together. For its part, Russia will remain at the forefront of the international community's fight against terrorism.

The President (*spoke in French*): I call now on Her Excellency Ms. Ana Palacio Vallelersundi, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Spain.

Ms. Palacio Vallelersundi (Spain) (*spoke in Spanish*): Terrorism is today an urgent threat to the peace of our community of nations, which wants to be governed by the rule of law. We are confronted by a major challenge of the twenty-first century. Even minor complacency towards terrorism would be a crime; inaction would be a mistake of unimaginable consequences. Those who think that this problem does not affect them are wrong. Recent events have provided a painful reminder that something which seems a distant possibility in our society can instantly become something both commonplace and appalling.

Millions of people all over the world, thousands of them living in the Basque country of Spain, must live every day with the knowledge that they are targets for terrorist attacks. Terrorism is one of the main concerns of our democratic societies. Our fellow citizens are perfectly aware that the death, murder, devastation and destruction are not aims in themselves but, rather, constitute means to an end. Ultimately, the goal of terrorism is to undermine the basic values upon which our common existence is founded, namely, democracy, freedom and the rule of law.

We in Spain were aware very early on that terrorism is no longer just an internal police matter for States. Today terrorism is a problem for the international community. If we have learned anything from terrorist attacks, it is that security is indivisible

and that States and regions are not hermetically sealed off from one another. The international community has shown that it too understands this by reacting jointly at both the regional and the global levels. It has done so by acting through both the United Nations and the European Union, as well as through the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and, now, through the Council of Europe, which has just taken up the subject of drafting a substantive comprehensive convention against terrorism.

Because terrorism concerns all of us, because it threatens all of us, the United Nations must lead and direct the fight against terrorism. In that context, I commend the fresh evidence of resolve, consideration and leadership just given to us by Secretary-General Kofi Annan.

There are three focal points of the fight against terrorism. To be effective, we must focus on a common understanding of terrorism; to be effective, we must cut the lifeline of terrorism by suppressing its means of financing and standing firmly against international crime; to be effective, we must be implacable with regimes that harbour, encourage or protect terrorists, particularly if they posses or can develop weapons of mass destruction.

Freedom and security are not opposing concepts in this fight. In this fight, freedom and security have a symbiotic relationship in which both must be strengthened.

In the global sphere, the various United Nations conventions on the fight against terrorism are instruments of prime importance, and we must continue our efforts to achieve universal ratification of those texts, without losing sight of the objective of a comprehensive United Nations convention in that field.

The adoption of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) and the establishment of the Counter-Terrorism Committee are vital steps forward. We commend the Committee for the work it has done. We must continue to build on the work accomplished, as Ambassador Greenstock has stated. I congratulate him on his work.

The work of the Committee cannot be limited to a mere theoretical review of reports. Rather, it must propose legal and political measures of real-world effectiveness in the areas of preventing and suppressing the financing of terrorism; identifying and proposing instruments for the exchange of information and early warning systems that can prevent attacks; making recommendations for effective border control; and the issuance and control of identification and travel documents.

We must also insist on the adoption of measures against the active or passive support of terrorism, administrative and legal cooperation and granting refuge to terrorists. Furthermore, we must consider the adjustment of the Committee's mandate to allow it to continue to play the active and efficient role it has been developing, because we know that terrorism is often linked to other illegal international activities and because we cannot fight terrorism effectively without confronting those matters: arms trafficking, money laundering and other international wrongdoing. We must pay very special attention to prevent access by terrorist groups to weapons of mass destruction.

The international community is a reality, and it shares the hope for a more just world, just as it shares a painful vulnerability to terrorism and other global threats. International relations cannot be confined to constant crisis management. Rather, they must include a definitive component in the fight for a better world. Our great common challenge is to articulate those relations in legal terms in order to achieve international coexistence that is more just and secure. The fight against terrorism is a basic priority to achieve that objective.

Thus, the initiative of the French presidency is very timely, and Spain firmly supports the draft resolution that we expect will be adopted at the conclusion of this debate.

In conclusion, in this common endeavour, the international community can always count on the resolute participation of Spain, which, as I have just stated, will guide the work of the Counter-Terrorism Committee, whose presidency, as of April, has been entrusted to us, which I appreciate.

The President (*spoke in French*): I call on His Excellency Mr. Colin L. Powell, Secretary of State of the United States of America.

Mr. Powell (United States of America): Thank you, Mr. President, for bringing us together today to reaffirm our commitment to the fight against terrorism. I thank the Secretary-General for his excellent remarks earlier.

It is so fitting that this body meet at the ministerial level to take stock of our campaign against terrorists and to help chart the way forward. And it is fitting that we meet here in New York, the site of the bloodiest of the attacks of 11 September 2001.

Let me begin my remarks by joining all my other colleagues in thanking Ambassador Greenstock for his tireless efforts as Chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC). Ambassador Greenstock's vision, his energy and his commitment have transformed the Committee from an idea into a powerful weapon against terrorism, and we all owe him a big debt of gratitude. Thank you, Jeremy.

I would also like to thank our Spanish colleagues for agreeing to assume the chairmanship of the Counter-Terrorism Committee in April. They will have our full support as they build on Ambassador Greenstock's work to make the Committee an even more potent weapon in the anti-terrorist arsenal.

We need an effective Counter-Terrorism Committee for, despite the progress of the past year, there is still much that we have to do. As the murderous attacks in Bali and Moscow and Mombasa and elsewhere have so tragically reminded us, the terrorist threat continues, and no countries' citizens are safe. Innocent people from some 90 countries perished on 11 September 2001. The Bali victims called at least 25 different countries home. No cause justifies the murder of innocent people. We totally reject terrorists and terrorism. We must rid the civilized world of this cancer. We must wage our campaign at every level with every tool of statecraft for as long as it takes. President Bush has stressed that "we will win this conflict by the patient accumulation of successes, by meeting a series of challenges with determination and will and purpose".

The declaration that we will adopt today makes clear that this war has many fronts: from money laundering and the illicit drug trade to arms trafficking and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. We must fight terrorism on all of these fronts.

I am very impressed by a number of the comments that I have heard today from various colleagues. I thank my colleague from Pakistan for Pakistan's commitment to continue going after Al Qaeda. We must get every one of these terrorists and bring them to justice or destroy them.

I also note that a number of my colleagues have made reference to the situation with respect to Iraq and to resolution 1441 (2002). In the very near future, the Council will meet again to determine what to do about this situation. Iraq was given a last chance with resolution 1441 (2002). I am pleased that it was President Bush who brought this situation to the attention of the Council in the most forceful way last September to give Iraq this one last chance. We must not shrink from our duties and our responsibilities when the material comes before us next week and as we consider Iraq's response to resolution 1441 (2002). We cannot fail to take the action that may be necessary because we are afraid of what others might do. We cannot be shocked into impotence because we are afraid of the difficult choices that are ahead of us.

So we will have much work to do, difficult work, in the days ahead, but we cannot shrink from the responsibilities of dealing with a regime that has gone about the development, the acquiring and the stocking of weapons of mass destruction, that has committed terrorist attacks against its neighbours and against its own people and that has trampled the human rights of its own people and its neighbours. So however difficult the road ahead may be with respect to Iraq, we must not shrink from the need to travel down that road. Hopefully, there will be a peaceful solution, but if Iraq does not come into full compliance, we must not shrink from the responsibilities that we set before ourselves when we adopted resolution 1441 (2002) on a unanimous basis; and so many other nations expressed their support for resolution 1441 (2002).

Weapons of mass destruction in the hands of terrorists or States that support terrorists would represent a mortal danger to us all. We must make the United Nations even more effective and we must build even closer international cooperation to keep these weapons out of the hands of terrorists. The United Nations has long worked to marshal the international community against terrorism. For example, as we have noted here this morning, there are 12 counter-terrorism conventions and protocols negotiated under the auspices of the United Nations and its affiliated agencies. It is vital that all States become parties to all of these Conventions and Protocols and fully implement them as soon as possible.

With the passage of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) in September 2001, the United Nations fundamentally changed the way the international

community responds to terrorism. Resolution 1373 (2001) created an obligation for all Member States to work together to deny terrorists the ability to solicit and move funds, find safe haven, acquire weapons, or cross international borders. Resolution 1373 (2001) said that if you are a member of the community of civilized nations, you must do your part to eliminate terrorist networks and terrorist activities.

As we have seen and as we have discussed here today, resolution 1373 (2001) is starting to have an impact. Most Member States have submitted reports to the CTC describing the measures that they have taken to implement resolution 1373 (2001) and identifying what more needs to be done. This is a very important step, and, as Ambassador Greenstock noted earlier, countries that have not taken this step should comply as quickly as possible. Those that have should continue to be responsive to requests from the Counter-Terrorism Committee.

Some countries are eager to implement resolution 1373 (2001) and to take other measures against terrorists, but they lack the necessary skills and resources to do so effectively. We must help them build up their capabilities. I challenge all nations with counter-terrorism expertise to help our willing partners. Many countries have already stepped up to the challenge. For example, the Commonwealth Secretariat, France, Australia, Germany, New Zealand and Norway are all providing assistance in areas such as drafting anti-terrorist legislation.

For our part, we have more than tripled our capacity-building assistance. Last year alone, our anti-terrorism assistance programme trained nearly 4,800 security personnel from 60 countries in everything from bomb detection to hostage negotiations, crime-scene investigations and the protection of dignitaries. We are also devoting $10 million in the coming year to help strengthen the ability of 18 countries to deny terrorists the funds that they need to kill innocent people.

Indeed, the international community has already made impressive progress in freezing terrorist assets. The United Nations has played the leading role in this unprecedented effort. For example, the United Nations has designated 324 names for asset freezing. In addition, Security Council resolutions 1267 (1999) and 1390 (2002) laid a strong foundation for halting the flow of money to terrorists associated with the Taliban, Al Qaeda and Osama bin Laden.

We are particularly pleased that just last Friday the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 1455 (2003). This important new resolution is aimed at improving Member State implementation of these sanctions that are targeted at terrorists and are without time limits. The international community could not have sent a stronger message of its determination to stamp out terrorism.

We look forward to working with Ambassador Valdés of Chile as he assumes the chairmanship of the Committee established pursuant to Security Council resolution 1267 (1999) to implement the Al Qaeda sanctions regime. That Committee has become even more important with the unanimous passage of resolution 1455 (2003).

But we all need to do more, and we need to coordinate our efforts better. Many international organizations at the regional and subregional level are already working to counter the terrorist threat. These organizations have an important role to play in helping their member States fulfil their counter-terrorism obligations. Now is the time for these groups to talk to one another, to exchange information and to coordinate their activities for maximum effect. The Counter-Terrorism Committee is taking a good first step by convening a meeting this March to bring many of these organizations together.

The challenge before us is to weave counter-terrorism into the very fabric of our national institutions and our international institutions. We must rise to the challenge. We must rise to the challenge with actions that will rid the globe of terrorism and create a world in which all God's children can live without fear.

The President (*spoke in French*): I call next on His Excellency Mr. Tang Jiaxuan, Minister for Foreign Affairs of China.

Mr. Tang Jiaxuan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): First of all, I would like to express my appreciation to France for initiating this ministerial meeting of the Security Council on counter-terrorism. I wish to thank the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, for his statement. My thanks go also to Ambassador Greenstock for his briefing on the work of the Security Council's Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC). Since

the attacks of 11 September 2001 positive results have been achieved in the international fight against terrorism. The CTC has made some progress in helping States formulate anti-terrorism legislation and cut off financial support to terrorists.

At the same time, the root causes of terrorism are far from being eliminated. The terrorist acts carried out last year on the Indonesian island of Bali, at a theatre in Moscow and in Mombasa, Kenya, demonstrate that much hard work remains to be done in the international fight against terrorism. We must take stock of past experiences in the fight against terrorism with a view to maintaining momentum in strengthening international cooperation to combat terrorism. For this purpose, it is incumbent on the international community to formulate a systematic counter-terrorism strategy. In that connection, the Chinese Government wishes to share with the Council the following views.

First, we must ensure that the central objective in the fight against terrorism is the maintenance of peace and security for mankind. It is imperative to foster a new security concept that emphasizes mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and cooperation so as to create a favourable broad environment in the fight against terrorism. Solving hot-spot issues and easing tensions in places such as the Middle East and Iraq will promote international cooperation in the fight against terrorism. All the measures, ways and means employed by the international community must be conducive to the relaxation of tensions on both the regional and the international levels.

Secondly, we should conduct our counter-terrorism campaign on the basis of promoting universal development and prosperity for all. Only when we succeed in achieving common development by helping one another's economies can we eradicate once and for all the root causes of terrorism. Only when we narrow the gap between the rich and the poor and achieve social justice can we remove the breeding ground of terrorism. Only when we truly attain a global development strategy that allows all to coexist and to gain and share the benefits of prosperity can we deny terrorism its last sanctuary. In this respect the early attainment of all the development goals set forth in the Millennium Declaration will be indispensable and significant for promoting international cooperation on counter-terrorism.

Thirdly, we should further enhance understanding and integration among civilizations to guarantee the broadest possible fight against terrorism. Terrorism is a common enemy of all civilizations, ethnic groups and religions. The fight against terrorism should provide civilizations with a new opportunity to learn from one another through mutual exchanges, a new starting point for their dialogue and integration and a new engine for their common progress and prosperity, rather than be a cause of greater ethnic hatred, racial conflict, clashes of civilizations or rifts between peoples. All countries should strive to strengthen understanding and tolerance among all civilizations and cultures.

Fourthly, we should promote further exchanges and closer cooperation among nations, which is a key to success in the fight against terrorism. Success in the international campaign against terrorism requires solidarity, cooperation and common action among countries. There exists huge potential for the international community to strengthen cooperation to ensure safe aviation, safe maritime transportation and network security. The success of this campaign also depends on the leading role of the United Nations, with the principles and purposes of the Charter and universally recognized norms of international law as its guidelines. We hope that the Counter-Terrorism Committee will adopt more forceful measures in helping developing countries enhance capacity-building in countering terrorism and will support such endeavours.

China attaches great importance to the fight against terrorism. At the recent sixteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, President Jiang Zemin made an important statement that stressed the importance of stronger international cooperation in order to address both the symptoms and causes of terrorism: guard against and crack down hard on terrorist activities; and eliminate the roots of terrorism through stepped-up efforts.

China has actively participated in the international fight against terrorism. It has signed and ratified almost all of the international conventions against terrorism and cooperated with the countries concerned.

China itself has been the victim of terrorism. East Turkestan terror organizations have perpetrated numerous terrorist attacks in China's Xinjiang region and in neighbouring regions of Central Asia, posing a

serious threat to peace and security in those areas. In September last year, the Security Council placed the East Turkestan Islamic Movement on the list of terrorist organizations. The Chinese Government is ready to join all parties in continuing resolutely and effectively to fight against the East Turkestan terrorist forces, safeguard peace and security for Chinese people of all nationalities, and maintain regional peace and stability.

The President (*spoke in French*): I call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Guinea, His Excellency Mr. François Lonsény Fall.

Mr. Fall (Guinea) (*spoke in French*): Allow me at the outset to say how pleased my delegation is to see you, Sir, presiding over this meeting, and also to welcome the five new member countries of the Security Council.

The Security Council, through this meeting, is restating its determination to give high priority to the international community's fight against terrorism. Let us recall that it was during the French presidency of the Council, in September 2001, that the tragic terrorist attacks were perpetrated against the United States of America. Under the active leadership of France, the Council, at that time, adopted important resolutions, including resolution 1373 (2001).

I should like also, Sir, to stress the particularly active part played by your country in the process of the drafting and adoption of the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism. That is why I am pleased to commend your delegation for France's ongoing outstanding efforts effectively to combat terrorism, which poses a clear threat to international peace and security.

I should like also to thank the Secretary-General for his introductory statement, and the Chairman of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) for his important statement.

Since the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, the international community has taken many steps — at the subregional, regional and international levels — to combat the scourge of terrorism. The adoption and implementation of various resolutions by the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as the actions taken by Member States, are part of this approach.

We commend the work done by the CTC. The progress it has made is evidence not only of its resolve to discharge its responsibilities effectively and quickly, but also of the political will of our Member States to shoulder their responsibilities. I wish also to pay a well-deserved tribute to Sir Jeremy Greenstock for his ongoing dedication, his skills and the outstanding manner in which he has guided the work of the Committee.

We welcome the CTC's proposal to convene, in the near future, a special meeting with representatives of international, regional and subregional organizations and institutions, which will without a doubt help to strengthen the capacity of States to combat terrorism through concerted and coordinated action at all levels. My delegation would encourage the Committee to continue its dialogue with all States on the specific steps to be taken to implement the provisions of resolution 1373 (2001).

My delegation notes with satisfaction the fact that several Member States have undertaken to sign and ratify the 12 terrorism conventions. My delegation advocates the swift adoption of the comprehensive convention against terrorism, and we support work on a draft convention to combat acts of nuclear terrorism.

The Committee has certainly been able to highlight the relationship between terrorism and other forms of organized crime. However, the Committee's work is far from over, for combating terrorism is a long-term endeavour which requires the strengthening of national legislations and the ratification by States of the various international instruments.

My delegation would restate its strong condemnation of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, whatever the cause the perpetrators claim to be defending. Political disputes and differences should not overshadow our commitment to combat this evil, which affects the international community as a whole. Guinea believes that the fact that a country has not been the victim of such acts cannot be a reason for its failing to join in the struggle to eliminate terrorism.

Therefore, Guinea has added to its penal code provisions aimed at averting and suppressing all terrorist threats or acts. Furthermore, our national courts have jurisdiction over terrorist acts or threats recognized in the international conventions to which Guinea is a party. This derives from article 79 of our

Constitution, whereby international law has primacy over our national legislation.

Our Government has taken steps to accede to all international conventions on terrorism to which we are not yet a party. The competent authorities have already undertaken proceedings to that end.

My country, which has always been involved in efforts by the international community to combat terrorism, participated, inter alia, in the Special Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, held in Kuala Lumpur from 1 to 3 April last. We also attended the High-Level Intergovernmental Meeting of the African Union on Terrorism, held in Algiers from 11 to 14 September 2002.

My delegation believes that we can gauge the success of our efforts to combat terrorism by looking at how many lives have been saved and how many terrorist acts thwarted. Unfortunately, the Bali and Mombasa attacks and the Moscow hostage-taking resulted in the loss of human lives, making it clear that we need to strengthen cooperation further to combat terrorism.

Guinea is willing to contribute to the implementation of the recommendations of the Policy Working Group on the United Nations and Terrorism, which were submitted to the Secretary-General.

Success depends on the solidarity of the entire international community in order to overcome divisive factors. This will require tolerance, a dialogue among civilizations, and accepting our differences for the sake of our common interests. We must also settle regional conflicts, which are ravaging so many countries, and seek just solutions to development problems.

We are convinced that the road ahead is long and full of obstacles, but we must nonetheless continue to move towards our common goal to eradicate terrorism. We hope that the outcome of this meeting will give fresh impetus to our common efforts, and, in this spirit, we support the draft statement to be adopted at the end of this meeting.

The President (*spoke in French*): I give the floor to Permanent Representative of the Syrian Arab Republic, His Excellency Mr. Mikhail Wehbe.

Mr. Wehbe (Syrian Arab Republic) *(spoke in Arabic)*: I wish to convey to you, Sir, to the Ministers, to the Secretary-General and to the representatives of member States the best wishes of Mr. Farouk Al-Shara, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Syrian Arab Republic. As he could not be present today, he has asked me to deliver the following statement on his behalf.

"I am pleased to see France, a country that has ties of friendship with Syria, presiding over the Security Council for this month. I welcome the initiative of Mr. De Villepin, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, to convene this meeting at the level of Foreign Ministers to discuss an important issue: cooperation in the combat against international terrorism. In a telephone call last Wednesday, I personally expressed to Mr. De Villepin my deep appreciation for this initiative.

"Our region is now living in a dangerous situation. Syria and some of the countries neighbouring Iraq that would be directly and dangerously affected by potential events in Iraq are currently striving to reach a peaceful settlement to the problem of Iraq. Such efforts are linked to the Security Council's efforts to implement its resolutions, particularly resolution 1441 (2002). It is for those reasons that I was prevented from joining my Foreign Ministers colleagues in this meeting. I hope that your efforts will succeed in resetting priorities for combating international terrorism, particularly as terrorism does not target any specific country, religion or people.

"Syria stresses the role that the United Nations must play in mobilizing the efforts of all Member States to counter international terrorism, based on the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. Such principles acquire further significance when our world is facing greater dangers and risks.

"The United Nations, and the Security Council in particular, took serious measures to fight international terrorism after the tragic events in the United States of America. We all condemned those attacks. Regrettably, terrorism did not start with those events. Unfortunately, neither did it end with them. In today's world, justice is mixed with injustice, freedom with oppression and principles with double standards.

Briefly but more significantly, truth is mixed with falsehood.

"There is no doubt that resolution 1373 (2001) constitutes the cornerstone of our efforts to fight international terrorism. We must pay tribute to the efforts of the Counter-Terrorism Committee under the chairmanship of Ambassador Jeremy Greenstock. Syria has cooperated with the Committee both through its membership on the Committee and through the reports it submitted in full to the Committee. We hope that the Committee and its new bureau will continue to supervise all aspects of the implementation of that resolution.

"However, have all the measures taken so far been reassuring? The seriousness of international terrorism calls for collective efforts to make the issue a top priority of the international community so that we do not stop at addressing the issue in a superficial and temporary manner. We must look at the causes of terrorism. In other words, we have to diagnose the phenomenon so that we can address it and eradicate it.

"There are increasing concerns about the possible link between terrorism and weapons of mass destruction. The draft presidential statement before the Council makes clear reference to that potential link. We in Syria share the concern about a possible link between terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, especially in the region of the Middle East, where both terrorism and weapons of mass destruction are a threat. For that reason, for more than two decades Syria has called attention to the gravity of this situation.

"First, Syria has called for the convening of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations to define terrorism and to distinguish between terrorism and a people's struggle for freedom. Syria has contributed to the negotiations currently under way in the General Assembly on a comprehensive draft convention against terrorism that asserts the international community's understanding of the legitimate struggle against foreign occupation — a right that was guaranteed by the Charter of the United Nations — and condemns as terrorism all acts of violence outside occupied territories. Syria believes that we should reach agreement on that common ground. Otherwise, we cannot truly be serious about fighting terrorism.

"Secondly, since 1989 we have called for the declaration of the Middle East as a zone free of nuclear, bacteriological and chemical weapons of mass destruction. Many Arab and Islamic countries in the region have joined us in that appeal, and my country has worked towards that objective during recent years. However, that goal has so far remained elusive due to Israel's refusal to join the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons on the pretext that it is waiting for the conclusion of peace between it and its neighbours. Successive Israeli Governments have made such a peace truly elusive through their refusal to withdraw from the Arab territories occupied since 1967.

"If the international community truly wishes to separate terrorism from weapons of mass destruction and to fight both in parallel, we now have a very precious opportunity that we must not waste. Let us work together to fight both in parallel through the initiative of Syria: a call for international conferences to define terrorism and to make the Middle East a zone free of weapons of mass destruction, without the exception of any State.

"Important proposals have been advanced in our region — and even outside it — stressing that it is extremely important to counter violence while Israeli settlements and occupation persist. Therefore, working seriously to arrive at a just and comprehensive solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict will effectively contribute to the efforts to fight international terrorism.

"Syria, which has been a victim of terrorism since the 1980s, succeeded in harnessing the country's potential to address and to eradicate terrorism. It worked within the League of Arab States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the United Nations to fight international terrorism. Towards that goal, Syria undertook bilateral cooperation with many States. We shall continue to cooperate with the Counter-Terrorism Committee and all other sincere international efforts to realize that noble objective.

"Once again, I wish you success in your efforts in the service of our common good."

The President (*spoke in French*): I now call on the Permanent Representative of Chile.

Mr. Valdés (Chile) (*spoke in Spanish*): First, I wish to convey the best wishes of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Chile, Soledad Alvear Valenzuela, who for reasons beyond her control was unable to participate in this meeting.

I thank the French presidency for convening this important ministerial-level meeting. I thank the Secretary-General for his wise words and Sir Jeremy Greenstock for the report he presented to the Council.

The convening of this meeting is testimony to the commitment and political will of the international community to combat one of the most serious threats to international peace and security.

Condemning terrorism in all of its manifestations is an ethical and political duty. Terrorism threatens not only innocent lives but also the moral and civilizational bases of our societies. We therefore condemn all acts of terrorism as criminal and unjustifiable, whatever their motivation, form or manifestation.

However, that is not enough. What is needed is effective commitment and a global approach to the problem on the part of the international community to confront it, thus contributing to making a safer world, free from terror. There is no place for neutrality vis-à-vis those who have placed themselves beyond the pale of humanity — and even less for tolerance towards those who harbour or encourage terrorism.

We must proceed on the premise that, in a globalized world, the fate of each of our countries is that of all peoples. We share a common space in which no one can live unmindful of the fears and problems of others. We have seen with horror the attacks on Bali, Mombassa and Moscow. No society is safe from this threat. The fight against terrorism is not only an issue for Governments; it must include our civil societies and it is therefore essential to understand that it must unfold within a framework of legitimacy and of respect for human rights. It is not possible to fight those who hate our values by forgetting those very values. No consideration of effectiveness is so imperative that it should make us forget those principles.

It was in this spirit of full awareness of the highest values of humankind that the United Nations and this Council responded unequivocally to the tragic events that shook the world on 11 September 2001. Resolution 1373 (2001) marked the beginning of unprecedented cooperation to establish the conditions for combating terrorism effectively in its many manifestations. It is a resolution of enduring value that places the Counter-Terrorism Committee at the centre of a process of cooperation from which no country should remain aloof.

The work of the Committee offers a unique opportunity for States, through their political, legislative, financial and administrative decisions, to create the conditions for confidence-building in order to contribute to collective security. The relationship that unites the Committee and the membership of the United Nations is a legal one. It is built on clear international obligations, compliance with which has an impact on the values and principles that underlie the Organization's actions.

Following the adoption of resolution 1373 (2001), Chile has fulfilled all the obligations established therein. My country has prioritized efforts to combat terrorism at the hemispheric level, within the framework of the Organization of American States, while at the same time promoting the coordination of efforts in other forums of subregional cooperation, such as the Rio Group and the Common Market of the South.

The draft resolution that we shall adopt today marks a turning point in the work of the Counter-Terrorism Committee, so ably led by the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom, Sir Jeremy Greenstock, whom we thank for his efforts. Thus far, the Committee has functioned on the basis of a vertical relationship with the States Members of the Organization. We feel it extremely important that, from today forward, horizontal relationships be established between countries and relevant international and regional organizations. The aim of this is not only to permit States to develop their own capacities for combating terrorism, but also to help others to develop them. My country fully supports this new approach, which emphasizes the elements of cooperation and envisages support for this effort from relevant international and regional organizations. A joint approach is critical to the global anti-terrorism strategy.

Cooperation among States is an essential component of that new approach, which must go beyond the exchange of information. Through it, cooperation will have a long-term impact on efforts to combat terrorism.

In this regard, it would seem appropriate for the Committee to work in three directions. First, the Committee's group of experts should elaborate a programme of work that includes operational measures that take into account the differing realities of regions and countries with a view to channelling technical assistance so as to ensure the effective implementation of resolution 1373 (2001).

Secondly, we recognize that the participation of international organizations, particularly those with special capacities and competence in areas of relevance to the fight against terrorism, is a key aspect of the design of objectives and priorities for global action. We propose the establishment of an inter-agency coordination segment that covers specific sectoral actions and programmes. Coordination should also be enhanced among the various committees of the Security Council entrusted with the fight against terrorism.

Thirdly, regional and subregional organizations must be part of an integrated focus on combating terrorism. The Committee has launched programmes in this respect that should be expanded. The Organization of American States has developed a hemispheric anti-terrorism policy through the Inter-American Committee against Terrorism.

One contribution of our region in this field has been the accession of 30 countries to the Inter-American Convention against Terrorism. The Convention could serve as a reference in the negotiation of the draft texts of a comprehensive convention on terrorism and a convention for the suppression of acts of nuclear terrorism that are currently being developed at the United Nations. Chile supports the efforts being made to conclude these negotiations and thus to fill current gaps in international law in this field. We further propose that this hemispheric political effort be used in other anti-terrorism standard-setting and regional coordination processes. The meeting of the Counter-Terrorism Committee to be held on 7 March will provide a good opportunity for the further structuring of inter-regional cooperation.

The United Nations today faces one of the greatest challenges it has faced since its creation: to provide an effective response in order to prevent and eradicate this terrible new threat. We are convinced that the Organization has the capacity and legitimacy to do so.

As a member of this Council, Chile wishes to reiterate its commitment to the efforts of the Counter-Terrorism Committee. In assuming the chairmanship of the Committee established pursuant to resolution 1267 (1999) on sanctions against Al Qaeda, we wish to promote its work with the help of all the members of the Council and of the Organization. We do so in our conviction that the potential of terrorism remains vast and that the effort to conquer it will be a lengthy one. Its defeat, however, is inevitable if all members of the international community fully shoulder their responsibilities.

The President (*spoke in French*): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as Minister for Foreign Affairs of France.

The world is at a crossroads today. Crises have global dimensions. In this context, the Security Council, the highest body representing the will of the international community, has a special responsibility. That is why France has taken the initiative of convening this meeting. I would like to thank the Secretary-General and the many colleagues who accepted my invitation.

I would not want to speak on the subject of terrorism here in New York without mentioning, with sorrow, the victims of the attacks of 11 September. Their memory must inspire us to fight terrorism with the utmost determination.

New attacks, of which France itself has been a victim, have taken place in recent months. They have confirmed that the terrorists are more than ever resolved to shatter lives and sow destruction. They have also confirmed that terrorism threatens all countries and all peoples. It cannot therefore be fought in isolation. In the face of terrorism we have a duty — collective mobilization — and a goal: results.

Much has already been done. I am thinking of the United Nations, with the vital role played by the Security Council; the adoption of resolution 1373 (2001); the sanctions imposed on Al Qaeda; and the Counter-Terrorism Committee, whose activity I would

like to commend. I am also thinking of the G8, its work on non-proliferation and its action against terrorist financing.

Much remains to be done, however. Terrorism is constantly changing face. It is able to adapt its methods and networks and to assert its global character. It is imperative for us to do more and better. How can we do so?

We can start by strengthening the mobilization of the international community as a whole. The United Nations can and must play a major role in this new drive. Because it is a world body, it must be at the centre of our efforts, focusing our attention in a pragmatic way on the areas in which the United Nations is better able than others to make a contribution. It is thus already playing a decisive role in drafting international legal instruments against terrorism. We must do still more in this area, both to conclude the negotiations on such basic texts as the comprehensive convention against terrorism and the convention against nuclear terrorism, and to permit the application of texts already signed. Let us give new stimulus to the United Nations institutions responsible for this task.

The United Nations, because it is a world body, can also do more to help countries — especially countries of the South — to strengthen their counter-terrorism mechanisms at the national level. In that connection, I propose that we consider establishing a cooperation and assistance fund within the United Nations that would have its own resources and would work closely with the international financial institutions.

But we must also pursue efforts undertaken in other forums. We will be ineffective against terrorist financing unless we mobilize all of the instruments available to us — in the Group of Eight (G-8), in the Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering and in other forums — and unless we fully involve the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. In its capacity as President of the G-8, France intends to give strong impetus to the Global Partnership against the Spread of Weapons and Materials of Mass Destruction, adopted at the Kananaskis Summit.

It is time to take action against the link between international terrorism and other threats: the spread of weapons of mass destruction, arms trafficking, illegal financing. France intends to prevent terrorist groups from using radioactive sources scattered around the world to make "dirty bombs". We shall make concrete proposals in that regard, particularly with a view to formulating an international convention strengthening controls over the use and transfer of such radioactive sources.

Let us look at things clearly. Terrorism feeds on injustice. An equitable development model is therefore necessary to eradicate terrorism once and for all. That is why we must work ceaselessly to resolve crises: in Iraq, in Korea and particularly in the Middle East, the crux of the crises in the region and in the world. We must once again put development at the centre of our concerns, mobilizing more resources and more imagination. Finally, we must foster dialogue among cultures, looking beyond differences. In this area, the United Nations has an irreplaceable role.

We see clearly that there is urgency. Each of these points requires action. Our fate is in our hands. Let us begin this process without delay and let us set timetables for concluding it. I suggest that we plan to meet at the next session of the General Assembly — perhaps even in the context of a special session of the Assembly — to adopt new measures aimed at giving tangible effect to the new impetus that we intend to bring to our mobilization.

The fight against terrorism is a universal cause because terrorism is a universal evil. The only way to conquer terrorism is through unity, imagination and action.

I now resume my functions as President of the Council.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to vote on the draft resolution (S/2003/60) before it. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Angola, Bulgaria, Cameroon, Chile, China, France, Germany, Guinea, Mexico, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President (*spoke in French*): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1456 (2003).

I thank all participants for the part that they have played in the work of this meeting. In particular, I thank all the Ministers for Foreign Affairs, the representatives of Chile and the Syrian Arab Republic, and the Secretary-General.

The Security Council has thus concluded its business for this meeting.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.